

THESIS FOR THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE (PH.D.)

LANDSCAPE SUSTAINING COMMUNITIES

—

**ALTERATION ANALYSIS OF PEASANT VINEYARDS
IN THE VASI-HEGYHÁT SMALL REGION**

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I. Objectives and questions of the research

Among the many characteristic community forms having a great past in the traditions of Hungarian rural society, the dissertation aims to introduce the alteration analysis and primarily the region forming activities of *farming communities*, or well-known as *hegyközség* [wine-growing communities], which were established by wine-growing peasants. The performed research approached the subject in various time segments and specifically from a social-cultural point of view, namely focusing on the Vasi-Hegyhat small region lying around towns of Körmend and Vasvár, a historical and ethnographical small region lying in the southeastern part of County Vas in the southwest Transdanubian region of the country.

The reasons for my choice of research field are motivated by the following considerations:

1. The chosen region formed an organic part of the central and western Transdanubian region (Veszprém, Vas, Zala, Somogy) in the age of feudalism which, according to the pertaining ethnographical papers by Melinda Égető, is kept count of as a characteristic region of the *vineyard communities* which were run restrained because of the local landowner's authority in the 17th and 18th century but somehow all along could keep running autonomously.

2. The analysis of the small regional local communities which form an inner periphery and have been examined only to a little extent and within that the analysis of the serf-peasant and then the post-rural plant farming related to vineyards, and within *small regional* and *micro regional* (Barabás) framework the complex unfolding description of the relation networks to vineyards near the villages that change in time and era by era contributes to a more profound future cognition of the regional segmentation of our grape- and wine-growing culture.

3. As a result of the alteration analysis, the compiling narrative offers additives to the exploration of an authentic *heritage potential*, which could be obtained from the small region village communities and the rural vineyards taken care by them, in the evident hope of becoming artefacts with high significance once in the future because of what it introduced. That is to say, the results of the research may not solely help the elaboration of the procedures applicable in further researches and closer analyses, but they may also expressly inspire regional developments on different levels.

Essentially, in the foreground of the interest of the research there stood the historically changing run of the vineyard farming communities related to the local communities of Central and Western Transdanubia, and their connection and relation with regional usage and also the demand to understand the mutual effects. Mainly, through the specific examples examined in different temporal and spatial segments of the traditional village communities as region conserving communities.

The following questions and hypotheses helped to reveal the coherences:

1. The historical-ethnographical heritage of a region may be interesting in understanding the sociocultural coherences of the peripheral regional community and the present rural communities. The research outcomes to be presented in the dissertation may provide help and some kind of a starting point to reveal the social-cultural procedures happening in the *small region* and also to orientation in problematic areas. First of all, I found it important to reveal and clarify the historical and ethnical existence and formation of the small region frames.

2. The culture lands of the once peasant vineyards, which were basically farmed with manual work and mixed farming may be approached as *social products* rooting from *region historical* and *land use* procedures connected to history-spanning serf-peasant, then post-peasant pattern vineyard farming. To be able to understand these coherences, I reckon that it

is inevitable to examine vineyard land use jointly with the terminally altering spatial social and economic changes, the broader historical and agrihistorical, ethnic and cultural anthropological interactions.

3. Beyond understanding the dynamic interactions between the ongoing changes of wine-growing communities and vineyard usage an interesting question to be answered. Is it possible for the vineyard community gatherings, that is the *small worlds*, which formed part of the traditional regional culture in the 17th and 18th century feudalism to sustain a history-spanning continuity and a living tradition? At the same time, in what kind of local and social coherences and along what reflections did vineyards, which operate thanks to the cooperation of the somewhat always self-possessive farming community members, as a *place and anthropological space* (Augé) evolve in the era of feudalism and then in the peasant civilization, and after that in the socialist modern and post-socialist present social and cultural realities, cultural relations? I reckon that if you want to answer these questions, you may get closer by taking a look at the case studies approaching the everyday life standard and their cultural partial phenomena of a single small region and its environs in the southwestern Transdanubian region and its micro regions and certain vineyard lands.

4. Beyond the communities related to vineyards and their traditional organization frames, highlighting work culture and lifestyle patterns that are itemized everyday through social-economic procedures helps to get a better understanding of the real existence, running and development of wine-growing communities. All this is even rather more interesting and illuminating in the light of the fact that the examined region consists of such typical southwestern Transdanubian local grape and fruit growing regions, which mostly fail to belong to the acknowledged historical vineyards beyond the level of self-sufficiency, that is, do not produce quality wine with product manufacturing and trading purposes.

II. Methods of material collecting and processing, used resource types

The theoretical and practical approach to the answering of the questions was fundamentally based on the community forms related to peasant vineyards, which change with time, their operation, their prevailing region shaping activities and humane and sociological interpretation of their products. Along the possibilities offered by available, obtainable and various but primarily historical and social-ethnical natured data and resource groups, my aim was not to compile a sort of event history, but to carry out analyses based on contemporary historical microsurveys concerning everyday life in as many time segments as possible and to highlight them through or against the coherences among wider regional, social and economic procedures. As far as possible, starting even from the depth analysis of the actual ordinary events and situations.

The course of material collection and my method were developed by my experiments carried out to solve the problems caused by partial results of the research procedure and its parallel inefficiencies. The starting point and the essential inspirational source was the field work carried out between July 2000 and March 2001 and the related research experiences observed by me, the summary of which I fulfilled in my thesis titled '*Cultural representation and peasant traditions. Observations from a cultural anthropological point of view related to the Vineyard in Ószkó*' (University of Miskolc, Faculty of Arts, Cultural and Visual Anthropology Dept., 2001). By this time, during field work and specialized literature research based on local society interviews, participant observations and photo documentations, I encountered the unavoidable problem that the understanding of the coherences between the contemporary cultural-social procedures of the rural world and their cultural land image cannot ignore, after a critical point, the cognition of the complex social-cultural phenomena in longer historical procedures. Finally, the birth of the dissertation was supported by an attitude

which is both humane-historical and sociological-anthropological to synchron phenomena, has contemporary historical interest, and approaches with a need of reconsideration. This attitude ended up in a process flow chart and change analysis of diachronic relations between social realities of different eras which are relatively well-circumscribable and related to a particular region. Leastwise, I had in view to aim at approaching the emerging principal possibilities of all this.

The fundamental historical resource collection and data exploration related to the region which is less concerned by ethnical and other humane or sociological researches took years and led to the recognition that the birth of the complete script was largely determined by a so-called 'retrospective' attitude which served the understanding of the scientific past of the small region. On the other hand, the text basically strives to process subsistent cultural possessions inherited from previous generations, hereby it inevitably interferes with the problem of heritage construction. The dissertation uses and interprets memory media related to the lost past overstepping the preparatory frames of interviews, photo documentation and participatory observations introspecting into present village and vineyard worlds, as a result of which the possibility of collective reading enriches the used historical resources with some kind of symbolic content. Anyhow, the subsistent artefacts, which are connected by the possibility of the associations related to the once original usage and mobilization of the buildings, the objects (may) become symbols of an era in a thematic text which follows a chronological order. Since the gesture of actualization itself serves as tradition-keeping of cultural sense displayable by descriptions, scripts, pictures and objects from various streaks of the past, and if scientific memory is applied, it (may) result in saving and fixing it into cultural memory (Assmann).

Essentially, the ethnic and regional heritage (re)construction of old peasant vineyards in the once existing Hegyhát and Farkas Woods in County Vas is based on the information lying and unfoldable from the hard to obtain, virtually mostly forgotten archive documents which offer primary resources (mainly *The Archives of County Vas, Archives of Szombathely and Hungarian National Archives, Budapest*), the manuscripts of ethnic collections (mainly *Savaria Museum Ethnographical Database, Szombathely*), the scripts, maps, archive photographs of published studies (mainly *Savaria Museum Ethnographical Photograph Collection, Szombathely*) and museum displays (*Savaria Museum Ethnographical and Historical Archives, Szombathely*). Not only because of the valuable data, but among the ethnographical works touching upon hungarian historical viti- and viniculture and its regional relations, the works of János JANKÓ, Ferenc GÖNCZI, Aurél VAJKAI, István VINCZE, Melinda ÉGETŐ and Zsigmond CSOMA had a significant influence on my script in recognizing the possible limitations of the narrative compiled of the interpretations pertaining to historical materials and in continuously reconsidering the problems.

III. The results of the research

1. The analysis of Vasi-Hegyhát as a historical-ethnographical small region

The first, introductory part of the thesis wishes to clarify the denomination of the analysed region, that is the historical-ethnic notion of Vasi-Hegyhát. Its starting point is that the written artefacts retaining the traditional usage of the word 'ridge' as a geographical common noun give us an insight into those arhaic cultural processes, which were free of any geographical and other natural or humane science-based ideas or any kind of perceivable effects of vulgarized forms. All this may be important because in case of Vasi-Hegyhát, the name of the region, and later the more and more apperceptive denomination of a *historical*

regional group, came to existence and became prevalent in relation with a geographical phenomenon, in organic connection with the local regional view, contrary to the southwestern neighbour called *Őrség*, which was named after the guards from the Arpad Age who were later famous for their legal privileges.

Beyond the everyday cultural moves in various historical ages, the denomination of a small region can be found in the historic processes of official administration. These administrative units influence the inner social and cultural operation of the particular region. It comes to light in my dissertation that in case of Vasi-Hegyhátság, the regional denomination 'Hegyhátság' or 'ridge' developed from a geographical, folklore and regional point of view and was built up from the idiomatic manifestations which refer to the geographical formation and are many hundred years old, presumably more than 500 years old. There are resources known from the 16th century, which recorded the name of the region as 'Hegyha' in a Latin context. After the enlightenment, modernity which followed the principal of scientific exactness or from an other point of view, the various relating administrative units that served the needs of centralization took over this region name and referred to the introduced region.

Although by the end of the 19th century, the denomination was left out of formal usage on one level by the unified national *administration*, then eventually, parallel with it, at the beginning of the century, the level of placename-providing, which strives to be clear and systematize consciously, passed it down further. Under the more and more complex social and cultural conditions of the first and the second part of the 20th century the '*Hegyhátság*' in County Vas still remained a regional organizing concept. In connection with the historical antecedents, the concept (may) gain a new interpretation nowadays, at the beginning of the 21st century, under the egis of regionalism and rural development.

I tried to grasp the dynamism of the region's historical, social and cultural existence along my possibilities through the example of the traditional marital relationships before 1960. For a better understanding of the subject, I used the data as resource, gained from the *Microregional Examination of Southwestern Transdanubia* initiated by Jenő Barabás. Exactly, it gave answers to the concrete question (I/5) within the second round of questions, which strived to highlight the customs and prevalence of getting married from other villages in the historical consciousness. At the time of the questionnaire query, between 1987 and 1993, in the local memory of particular settlements, respecting stereotypical relationships retained from territorial definiteness of marriages and their topographic description provide more data for the regional segmentation of the country population in County Vas. According to the conclusions drawn from this, on the County Vas section of the River Rába, the region known under the name of *Vasi-Hegyhátság* lying in a southeastern direction, according to the demonstrable settlement exogamy, virtually we may find two territories with relation networks separate from each other. One of them, in a historic and ethnic sense is the 'lower' part of Hegyhátság, that is from the Vasvár line to, by and large, the territory of the forest plateau spreading up to the parts under the town of Körmend, while the other region name is the 'upper' part, which covered the widened denotation of the region's name for centuries, but also a regional group fitting in the historic Farkas Woods region.

I also carried out an analysis of random samples with the marriage data from the 1830s, 1860s and the 1890s to check the historic relation network gained from the micro regional analysis. Namely focusing on the District of Vasvár according to the diocesan administration and the 'lower' marriage section of *Hegyhátság* partly reaching out to the deanery district of *Őrség*. According to the received result, it can be asserted that among the mostly Roman Catholic villages which those days made up the environs of Hegyhátság, *deanery endogamy* played a very significant role. That is to say, within the territory of Szombathely Diocese established by Maria Theresa in 1777, the Vasvár deanery district remained essentially unchanged also in the 19th century – the denomination of which was *Hegyhátság*

Kerület (Ridge District- '*Districtus Hegyhátiensis*') on the diocesan map published in 1807, can almost mutually suit the Vasi-Hegyhát region both in historical and ethnic sense.

2. Peasant vineyards in the context of variable land use

2.1. Vasi-Hegyhát in the regional relation network of traditional Southwestern Transdanubian wine growing

The second part of the thesis strives to show the land use of the peasant vineyards in its historical course. First of all, it tries to place the region of Vasi-Hegyhát in the regional connection network of traditional Southwestern Transdanubian wine growing. To brighten the theme, the data collection for the microregion analysis of Southwestern Transdanubia, namely here the answers to question II/7, served as a fundamental resource, as well. It tried to survey in which other villages local residents had grapevine at the border, if there was a vineyard in their own border and if foreign landholders arrived here from other villages. The topographic representation of the data, in spite of all problems, shows the regional relation network of traditional peasant wine growing in the contact zones of Counties Veszprém, Vas and Zala, that is right in the central territory of my analyses. As for the results, my work draws attention to the circumstance that the birth and running of peasant wine-growing districts are in close connection with the traditional regional segmentation of the county's population, which can be traced back to the role of vineyard territories in wealth inheritance and marriages.

2.2. Birth of peasant vineyards

As per evidence of certified resources from the Arpad Age, the wine-growing culture of the hills around Vasvár, the centre of the medieval Vasvármegye (County Vas) has been evidently continuous from the 13th century until now. During the first decades of the 17th century, River Raba made up the territorial borders of Turkish thralldom, while a remarkable destruction was going on in the bordering region along Raba, which directly touches the thralldom. After the Turkish thralldom was wound up at the beginning of the 18th century a significant grape-planting boom started in Western and Central Transdanubia with the participation of serfs, noblemen and citizens, which made this small region a part of a general tendency process. In the 18th century, on the hill running along the southeastern bank of the County Vas section of the River Raba, in the environs of the region mentioned as Hegyhát for centuries, in the territory of Farkas Woods, virtually, the relation network of a unique wine-growing small region began to take shape, where vineyards developed by making smaller island-like groups or microregions with their catchment area. To the south of Körmend, the hills of Nagymizdó, Döröske, Döbörhegy, Szarvaskend and Nádasd made up a group like that, and in the Vas-Zala bordering region: Győrvár, Gösfá (now Zala), Boldog Asszonyfa (now Vasvoldogasszony, Zala), Egervár (now Zala), Dénesfa (now Egervár, Zala) and Mihályfa (now Petőmihályfa, Vas), also Mindszent (now Csehimindszent, Vas), Csehi, Kisbér (now Bérbalatavár, Vas), Tilaj (now Nagytilaj, Vas), Mártonfalva (lost village), Olaszka (now Olaszfa, Vas) and the region of Oszkó show a traditionally wine-growing microregional characteristic. On the northern rim of the hill, the vineyards of Sótóny and Nyögér lying south of Sárvár used to be serf-peasant wine-growing places with characteristic catchment area, as well.

2.3. *The forgotten landscape and built heritage of peasant vineyards*

The birth and all-time conservation of serf-peasant vineyards are the results of and depend on region forming activities of the farming of local communities, which were set up in the interest of hill wine and fruit growing. Since the wine-growing communities, which came to existence by virtue of the medieval legal stand of the wine-growing areas, operated for centuries in spite of the changing social and political circumstances in some kind of an institutionalized form or in a form void of institutionalization, and the variety of vineyard landowners and peasant community culture which passes down the traditions even today and the world of tradition formed a unique landscape structure. In fact the continuously transforming and renewing local community culture endured until recent past, or until these days in certain places, at the same time leaving permanent traces in its region forming activity.

It has an importance because a rather radical viewpoint change would be necessary for the general revaluation of the rich, but largely forgotten *social and cultural values* of peasant vineyards and strengthening their role played in local and regional identity. Of course primarily on the part of the interested (owner, user) contemporary country communities. Despite all the fragmentation of our possible knowledge, the cognition and the analytical introduction of vineyards, traditional culture and land use of a small region, beyond the self-value of civilization elements, may truly play a significant role in the maintainable development of the currently still disadvantageous region. In other words, clarifying the intangible cultural (ethnic) heritage of the peasant, then post-peasant vineyards of the region may be important mainly because the mutual utilization of the still discoverable traditional country environs and natural resources and their life standard enhancing effects should not only live on as ever-fading memory fragments and cited 'mythologies' of a kind of distant idyllic past in the local *communicative and cultural memory* (Assmann), but a real actuality also for future generations.

2.4. *Landscape structure relations of transforming vineyard farming*

The revealing description of the agrihistorical processes in coherence with the land use of the vineyards demonstrates well how the hill vineyards which were farmed in small parcels became and remained typical features of the traditional region characters of Southwestern Transdanubia (Southern Vas, Zala, Western Somogy) until recent past. Through the examples of the wine and fruit growing land situated along the Vas-Zala internal periphery, primarily the vineyards of Vasi-Hegyhát – particularly the once existed Baltavár (now Bértaltavár, Vas), Felső-Oszkó (now Oszkó, Vas) and Petőmhálya (Vas) my aim was to highlight those region historical and land use processes related to hill farming, which significantly shaped the traditional image of peasant vineyards in Southwestern Transdanubia mainly in the first part of the 20th century. The hillside and the hilltop forms described in Zala are also observable here in the utilization of the isolated territories mostly far from settlements and bounded by hedges. The various land utilization (vineyards, orchard meadows, plough and pasture lands, meadows and vegetable gardens) of the ligamental parcels of the hill owners could shape a zonal and mosaic landscape structure adapting to local geographical facilities. Regarding their build-up, the shape which recalls street arrangement and follows the standard road network could also come to existence together with the diffused characteristic. The utilization of the small parcels so characteristic of the serf-peasant vineyards, their condition between the two world wars and also the transformation due to external influences can be easily perceived from the microanalysis results of the 1929 data resourcing.

The phylloxera disease spreading in Hungary in the 1870s and 1890s did not give a chance for the birth of market-oriented quality wine growing on this small region, but it had an effect on the local landowner population who had to reconsider hill farming. Then at the beginning of the 1920s, even Vasi-Hegyhát could not hide from the effects of the cruel economic depression. The traditional cost of living sources of the Hegyhát population who lived mainly on agriculture, still had to rely on agriculture further on for lack of other occupational, primarily industrial facilities or branches. Along landscape and ecological facilities, the small region population saw chances of finding a way out in fruit growing which served self-sufficiency better and could be much easier to sell. The vineyards remained important and useful places of ex-peasant land use of the Hegyhát settlements in the first part of the 20th century but also of the post-peasant land use in the Kadar Age, as well, thanks to fruit growing, beside wine-growing. The deep drilling samples carried out on the three ridge vineyards, the borders of Baltavár, Oszkó, Petőmihályfa, and the analysis of the archives resources about the running of the Hill Village Council of County and Vas and Sopron before 1849 draw attention to the fact that for a long time peasant vineyards those days not only played an important role in wine-growing but also in county and regional fruitgrowing.

The vineyards and the neighbouring wine-growing areas, which are lying on the border of the small region villages and were farmed by means of a little chemization and mechanization totally stood away from the collectivization in the socialist modernisation, except Bértaltavár, but despite this, at the beginning they never lost their economic importance. Moreover, the orchards which considerably influence the image of peasant vineyards also contributed to the birth of garden plots as a fundamental circumstance and later on they determined hill farming. The small region parcels as well as other scattered wine-growing areas, including them in croft territories which supplemented large-scale farming or were re-qualified as garden plots became characteristic places of the shrink of family labour unions. These unions were organized on basis of inherited peasant lifestyle samples and moral considerations, that is manual work, work in itself, the idea of self-sufficiency and having more than one income source, the family as an income-earning and possession cumulating unit etc. Furthermore, in the special legal, political and social situation and as a result of these, in consequence of the disappearance of the historical peasantry, not a real peasant, but so-called post-peasant wine-growing and viticultural traditions and land use came to existence. That is to say, vineyards in the Vasi-Hegyhát region hiding in the peripheral border area of Vas-Zala, which provide a few resort facilities, further conserved the previously self-sufficient and farming traditions which were then not real peasant traditions, but rather peasant-like or post-peasant traditions and became post-peasant vineyards from peasant vineyards.

The models of farming are based on old peasant land use, that is the principle of 'having more income sources', which was born in the peasant and manorial periods, then self-sufficiency, plus the leftover-land principled growing and marketing, plant growing which satisfies the feeding of animals meant for family consumption and the natural satisfaction of households. These models were able to live further restrained on the croft, in part-time farming, although they were not strong enough, so the subsequent generations could not carry them on to their present. As the result of social processes that we went through in the past two decades of post-socialism, these villages did not remain residence for the majority depending on agriculture, but a remarkable number of families living in the country are somehow still connected to agriculture (e.g. letting out land, animal raising, seasonal jobs and moonlighting etc.), in which there lies an opportunity in a form of a supplementary farm where they can grow grapes and fruits, look after the garden plot and the croft as a pensioner, or beside a full-time job. Consequently, for the local village population of Vasi-Hegyhát, the still existing

vineyards mean one of the last linking possibilities with the natural and traditional facilities of agrifarming in their relation network towards the land.

3. Birth and development of wine-growing communities

3.1. From „Helység” to hegyközség [wine-growing communities]

The vineyard owners who lived within the confines of feudalism made up self-organizing or autonomous communities for the neat care of manually grown grapes and in defence of properties of the vineyard. There could also be even more localities or communities on major or more interconnected Transdanubian vineyards. Primarily, they ensured their continuity and settled joint matters concerning the life of the vineyard in hill gatherings, that is through the ritual and integrative function of meetings obligatory for all vineyard owners. As it can be seen on many occasions in the sketches by Melinda Égető, the unwritten law which was confirmed in unwritten and written forms determined the rights and obligations of the community and those of vineyard owning individuals, their moral attitude, and virtually the rules of co-habitation on a feudal vineyard, reinforcing the grounds of the hill community for itself. The law of vineyard may be conceived as a sort of social contract of communities who came to existence in the interest of wine-growing and conserving the vineyard.

Apart from the vineyard owner community, the vineyard population which grew with permanent residents during Feudalism could assume variable proportions on every land or manor. There is a case study which describes the world of Kemenesalja vineyards in the first part of the 19st century, which is a direct northern neighbour of Vasi-Hegyhat and Farkas Woods. This case study shows that they lived their lives far from the village community, on the periphery, but also on the vineyard commonage belonging to the village community and in a controlled way through village magistrates. It is due to the fact that moving onto a vineyard had an important historical tradition and common practice in spite of county prohibitions and sanctions disposed in the winegrowing community law of Transdanubia. The resource analysis of the dissertation points out that those vineyard residents who were admitted to the noble village Kemenesmihályfa and its environs, mostly consisted of shepherds and their wives who were outsiders to the village community but were hired in the country. A special liminality characterized their community, and as a *liminal personae*, being Turner's 'threshold people', they slipped out of and flowed through the ordinary networks of conventional classification, which controlled the normal 'ground for social life' in the village community. Also, the case study competently pinpoints the fact that the discipline sustaining skills and possibilities of hill village community magistrates seemed to be rather poor when dealing with problematic cases of vineyard residents.

The written relics of the wine-growing communities in the region of the county border Vas and Zala and those of the hills lying along the southeastern bank of the River Raba provide illuminating examples when highlighting the birth of written vineyard community law and its social circumstances. As a result of a sudden boom in wine-growing and the related vinification in the 18th century on the land known as Hegyhát in County Vas, the vineyards and their wine-growing communities became minor wine-growing microregions along the network which was based on their division of land labour. The birth and spread of the written wine-growing community law can be demonstrated as a peculiar aspect of these processes. The structural and content analysis (based on structural analysis) of the twenty-two wine-growing community laws, which pertain to the vineyards of the southeastern region of Vas, sheds light on these fine social and cultural processes which are hard to obtain. The vineyard community laws related to the wine-growing small region which came to existence

in the 18th and also at the beginning of the 19th century have a time limitation from 1661 to 1839, which can be marked by dating. Three script families with different origins can be clearly detected (form Petőmihályfa, Egervári and Némethfalu) and the spread of the County Zala norm script in the southeastern part of County Vas can be separated as the fourth script family. Apart from these, we can find individual wine-growing community laws which cannot be fitted into any of the examined scripts related to the environs of the small region. The birth of script families certainly has a substantive coherence with the functioning of lordships and their lords who put down the scripts in writing, but the exploration and depth analysis of this would overstep the confines of the dissertation.

The real formation history and life of the vineyard articulus of Egervár can be reconstructed to some degree and it exemplifies well the circumstances around the introduction of the wine-growing community laws and the relations and conflicts between the vineyard landholders and the lord in the 18th century. The case study based on the pertaining resource analysis proves that the processes leading to local unwritten laws, the written wine-growing community articuli, the lord bylaws, the decree and county regulations all evolved along viewpoints which alter region by region in Southwestern Transdanubia. In the southeastern area of the historic County Vas which is adjacent to County Zala, that is in the Hegyhát region, these large-scale changes in the lives of wine-growing communities can be most characteristically related to the running of Festetics, Batthyány and Széchenyi manors. It may serve as an edifying micro-historical happening that the restrictions against autonomy of hill villages could also lead to revolts in the vineyard community which came to existence by their own traditionally unwritten laws. On the other hand, contrasts between the expectations of the lord and the real needs of hill villagers, which are noticeable in resources, highlight the real validity of the written wine-growing community laws in real everyday life limited by viewpoints of both parties.

3.2. *Wine-growing community organisations 1848–1949*

In spite of legal regulations of the half-century following serf liberization, more and more critical loss took place in the value of the vineyards in the region which pertained to the fact that the vineyard farming communities, which largely stuck on a self-sufficiency level, evolved further and kept their traditions in their special closed worlds for the forthcoming landlord generations. I am taking an example by demonstrating the operation of Sárífmizdó wine-growing communities from the 1860s to the beginning of the 1900s, which can be reconstructed to some degree. It is not an incidental circumstance that the first national wine-growing community law legislated in 1894 is followed by two other laws, in 1929 and 1938, though the information gained from contemporary ethnical interpretations and archive resources point to the fact that the vineyard farming of local and micro regional importance of the villages, which lived not primarily on wine-growing, did not depend on these national legal agreements. On one hand, the broad social background of problems obviously was made up of *traditionality* (László Kósa) which moderated Hungarian peasant civilization. On the other hand, the relevant resources and contemporary ethnographical interpretations point to the fact that practical operation as an economic interest group in wine-growing community self-organizations which are vitalized by tradition became more and more overshadowed. However, all these classical Taylor's '*survival*' phenomena, which survived in the feudalist custom world of vineyard farming communities, made it possible for the realization and empathy of cultural sense and social tradition in vineyard residency to live on. That is to say, the legal wine-growing community organizations of serf-peasant vineyards from 1894 did not develop into grape monoculture but subsisted as somewhat genuine wine-growing communities. They subsisted more and more emphatically as memory communities through

ceremonial evocation (e.g. tradition of hedge trampling) of the inherited custom world and were organized around unique folk cultural memories. Not all peasants who farmed the same vineyard were definitely members of these farming communities living in traditions. Essentially, peasant vineyards extended their fixed functions as workspaces which ensured possible financial advantages of peasant work and overstepped the confines of wine-growing community institutional frames which became more and more open. These vineyards could preserve their prominent local role even in the first part of the 20th century partly as scenes of setting up entertainment, enculturation and sense of identity. It was characteristic of the 1930s and 1940s that wine-growing peasants were reluctant of the wine-growing community institution, which were set up according to modern forms, even on such vineyards where it would have been obligatory. Even so, later the ethnographical collections of decades after World War II (Sándor Dömötör, János Bárdosi) could record the re-lived 'mythologies' of this period preceding phylloxera disease and the Assmannian 'memories becoming rituals' of old wine-growing communities from peasants of the small region vineyard.

3.3. Wine-growing communities from 1949 until today

The governmental decree in 1949 wound up wine-growing community councils and vineyard but virtually, in spite of this fact, the closed communities of peasant vineyards, which did not need any legal formalities, did not cease informally along the strong identity forming power of peasant tradition in supplementary farming and social traditions connected to them. It happened so even when their social and economic limitations greatly changed in the 1950s and 1960s during the socialist modernization and formed a unique post-peasant wine-growing and viticulture, in which the small community and family-like character still remained a very important component.

In my opinion, in the period after the change of regime in 1989, instead of wine-growing, which followed small production strategy based on family labour organizations, the emphasis was shifted towards individual out-of-passion hobby wine-growing where beyond farming occupations, an important requirement appeared for amusement related to the spot on the small land. Community relations confined to the time of amusement on these vineyards get into a close connection with the time spent on work, as a matter of fact they motivate it, therefore the two activity levels continuously invigorate one another. Consequently, such a vineyard makes up a unique locality as well as another social and cultural environment having individual internal coherences compared to the world of villages. The common factors which connect and level the neighbourhood, the personal and community levels are the joint wine drinking, the experience of social entertainment, the confidential discourses around actual situations and conditions, information swapping and mutual attention. Since grape- and wine growing is not a farming constraint, it is the affection to the very place that essentially nourishes the possibility for the fulfilment of self-motivated peasant-like diligence which had been carried by the older generation. By this, the vineyard is not simply a scene designated for grape and wine drawing, but a shelter which satisfies the ancient need of wanting to belong to a safe community which is based on private and cozy communion.

In the Kádár era, but also after the 1989–1990 change of regime, the continuity of vineyard farming communities can be seized in operating as memory communities. The festivity of 'hedge trampling' of the vineyards in Sótöny around Sárvár is a good example for this. The occasion, which evokes the local hill government organization in a ceremonized way, visualizes a formally nonexistent imaginary 'wine-growing community'. Yet, the community based on vineyard identity, that is the circle of vineyard owners devoted to local traditions, reinforces itself in this festivity year by year through the mnemotechnics of cultural memory. All of this was unconventionally reinforced by the activity of the *hegybíró* [vine-

judge] who had been actively organizing it for decades, the regional (county) politics, which stretched over different regimes and shifted tradition on the level of cultural representation then also the publicity surrounding it. Fruit-, grape- and wine-growing connected to village border vineyards did not mean a considerable and potential source of income which could have been calculated on long term neither in Sótöny nor in the other research spot, Oszkó. However, even in the first part of the 20th century, several relictum region components could stay in their original use through competence related to local traditions and work culture. In spite of the social, economic and political situation, which deeply and largely transformed, the character of joint farming, managing and safeguarding organizations which after all operated legally in the first part of the 20th century, surprisingly, has a transposed influence on the lives of both vineyards even today. In Sótöny, the custom survival of the one-time 'wine-growing community' organization may help the articulation of regional grape- and wine growing culture. The conscious and civil community developing presence which protects value and interest and which developed in direction of the vineyard then passed on the level of memory community: is of key importance regarding the course of local community socialization in Oszkó. For lack of conditions of market-oriented economic attitude, the action fields of vineyards play an outstanding role in community organizing frames, transposedly in the formation of the local civil society as well as in the protection of environmental values. The need for a local small community co-operation, which is based on mutuality and correlation, beside the relations of leisure activities, gives a starting point for the realization of local developments.

IV. The author's subject-related publications

In a publication of many authors:

- Gyepűtiprók, hegypásztorok nyomában: a paraszti szőlő- és borgazdálkodás helyzete a Vasi-Hegyháton. [On track of edge trampers and vineyard-shepherds: the situation of peasant grape and wine-growing in Vasi-Hegyhát.] In: Schwarz Gyöngyi – Szarvas Zsuzsa – Szilágyi Miklós ed.: *Utóparaszti hegyománkok és modernizációs törekvések a magyar vidéken*. [Post-peasant traditions and modernization efforts on the Hungarian land] Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézet – MTA Társadalomkutató Központ, 2005. 345–361.
- A kulturális szegénységet csökkentő, az integrációt, társadalmi aktivitást erősítő akciók és szereplők a Vasi-Hegyháton. [Actions and characters which cut down cultural poverty and strengthen integration and social activity in Vasi Hegyhát] In: Dudás Katalin – Lágler Péter szerk.: *Helyi érték. Fejlesztéskutatói esettanulmányok*. [Local val. Development research case studies] Budapest: Magyar Művelődési Intézet és Képzőművészeti Lektorátus, 2007. 194–228.

In scientific articles:

- Megjegyzések a paraszti kultúra mint örökség helyzetéről az osztkői szőlőhegy jelenlegi állapota kapcsán. [Comments on the situation of peasant culture as heritage related to the present state of Oszkó vineyard.] In: *Vasi Szemle* 2002(56)/2:235–252.
- “Átmenetek”. A jelenkutatás és a helytörténetírás lehetőségei a Vasi-Hegyháton. ['Transitions'. Possibilities of present research and regional history script in Vasi-Hegyhát.] In: *Vasi Szemle* 2003(57)/6:763–772
- A Vasi-Hegyhát – egy történeti-néprajzi kistáj. [Vasi-Hegyhát: A historical and ethnographical small region.] In: *Ethnographia* 2005(116)/3:267–299.
- A szüreti felvonulások és az egyesületi élet kapcsolatai a 2. világháborúig Vas megyében. [Connections of grape harvest processions and association life in County Vas until World War II.] In: *Vasi Honismereti és Helytörténeti Közlemények* 2005(33)/3:51–65.
- Régi szőlőhegyek, hegybéli közösségek a Vasi-Hegyháton. [Old vineyards, wine-growing communities in Vasi Hegyhát.] In: *Életünk* 2007(45)/10:14-38.
- Hegytörvények keletkezéstörténete: egy önrendelkezésében sértett délnyugat-dunántúli hegybéli közösség a XVIII. században. [Formation story of wine-growing community laws: a wine-growing community in Southeastern Transdanubia infringed in its self-autonomy in the 18th century.] In: *Belvedere Meridionale* 2008(20)/5–6:72–86.
- A bűnös hegy. Szőlőhegyi lakosok üldözése a Kemenesalján a 19. század első felében. [The

guilty hill. Persecution of vineyard residents in Kemenesalja in the first part of the 19th century.] In: *Vasi Szemle* 2009(63)/6: 681–691.

– Vas megye népességének táji tagolódása a hagyományos házasságkötési kapcsolatban – Különös tekintettel a Vasi-Hegyhátra, a 19–20. században. [Regional segmentation of the population in Vas County in traditional marriage relationship - with special regard to Vasi Hegyhát in the 19th and 20th century.] In: *Vasi Honismereti és Helytörténeti Közlemények* 2009/1. 18–32.

– Tendenciák és hatások a délnyugat-dunántúli paraszti szőlőhegyek hagyományos (1960 előtti) tájszerkezetének fejlődésében – különös tekintettel a Vasi-Hegyhátra. [Tendencies and influences in the development of the traditional land structure of Southeastern Transdanubian peasant vineyards – with special regard to Vasi-Hegyhát.] In: *Zalai Múzeum* 2009(18): 139–158.

– Paraszti szőlőhegyek elfeledett táji, épített és tárgyi öröksége a Hegyhát és Farkas-erdő vidékén. [Forgotten built and landscape heritage of peasant vineyards in the Hegyhát and Farkas-erdő region] In: *Savaria a Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értesítője* 2010(33): 237–256.

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Book reviews:

– Mód László-Simon András: A hajtástól az újborig. (könyvismertetés). [Mód László-Simon András: From grape shoot to new wine. (book review)] In: *Vasi Szemle* 2002(56)/5:685–686.

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– Káldy Lajos: Borospincék dicsérete. (könyvismertetés) [Káldy Lajos: The praise of wine cellars. (book review)] In: *Vasi Honismereti és Helytörténeti Közlemények* 2005(33)/4:88–89.

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– Lendvai Kepe Zoltán: Boldogulás Hetésben / Blagor v Hetésu. Hetés falvai a történelem, a néprajz és az ökológiai antropológia tükrében. (Könyvismertetés) [Lendvai Kepe Zoltán: Welfare in Hetés. Villages of Hetés in the mirror of history, ethnography and ecologic anthropology. (book review)] In: *Vasi Szemle* 2010(64)/2: 255–256.